Periodical C

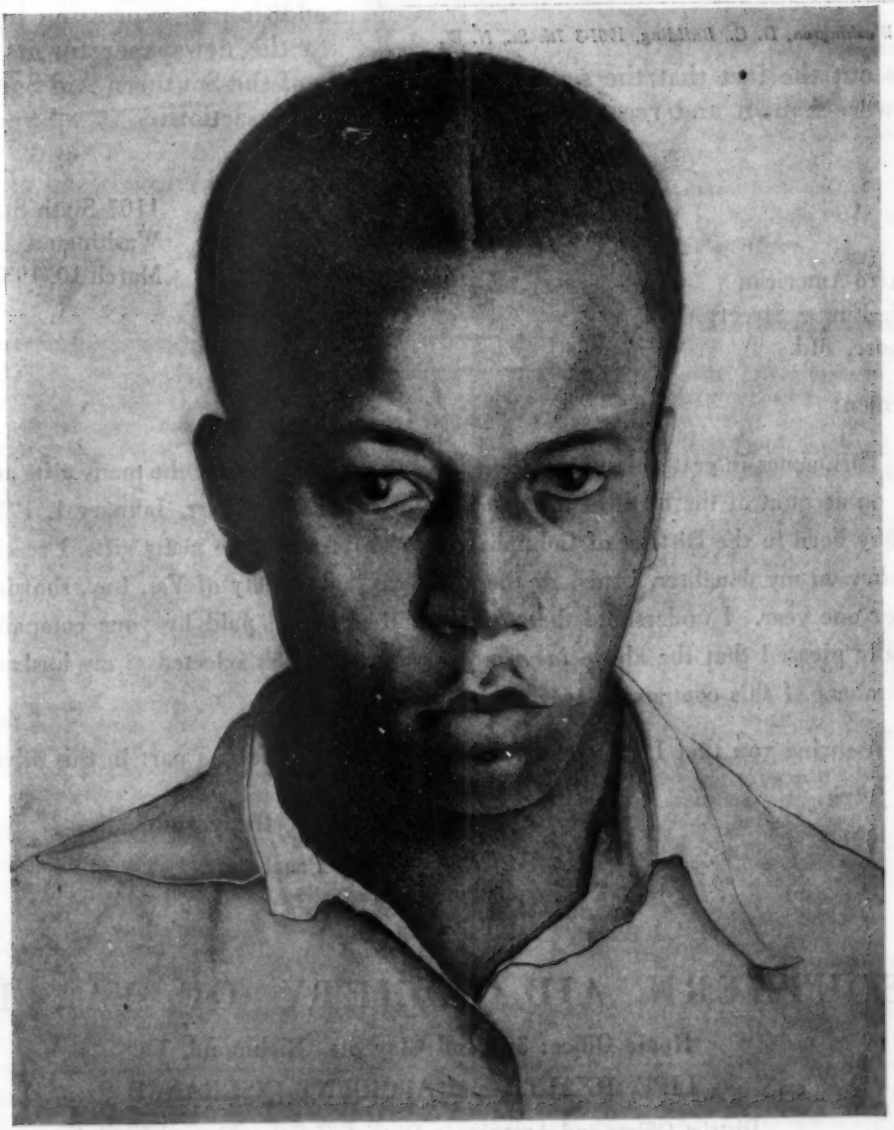
June. 1933

THE CRISIS

PUBLIC LIBRARY
MAY 26 1933
DETROIT

FIFTEEN CENTS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES



ROLAND HAYES · THE NEGRO VOTER
McGHEES of ST. PAUL · SLATER FUND

Washington, D. C., Building, 1901-3 7th St., N. W.

Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc.

was honored in the award made by the *Afro-American* newspaper to the first race baby born in 1933 in the District of Columbia.

The following letter from the proud mother of the lucky baby, in addition to expressing her gratitude to the newspaper for its enterprise, brings out the fact that the services and standing of the Southern Aid Society of Va., Inc., were known and recognized in this unique transaction:

●

1107 Sixth St., N. W.
Washington, D. C.
March 10, 1933

The Afro-American
628 N. Eutaw Street
Baltimore, Md.

Gentlemen:

This comes in grateful appreciation to your organization for the many gifts and courtesies shown on account of the birth of my daughter, Wilma Laville Parr, January 1, 1933, being the first baby born in the District of Columbia in 1933. Among the many gifts, I received a *whole life policy* on my daughter, issued by the Southern Aid Society of Va., Inc., showing premiums paid for one year. I understand that these premiums were paid by your company and I am especially pleased that the above *insurance organization* was selected as my husband and I are old members of this *company*.

Assuring you that I am greatly indebted to all who took a part in this advertising campaign, I am,

Very respectfully yours,
(Mrs.) Pearl Parr

●

SOUTHERN AID SOCIETY OF VA., INC.

Home Office: 3rd and Clay Sts., Richmond, Va.

LIFE, HEALTH and ACCIDENT INSURANCE

District Offices and Agencies in District of Columbia and Virginia

THE CRISIS

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF.

A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor and Manager*

Volume 40, No. 6 **Contents for June, 1933** *Whole No. 271*

Page

COVER. The Problem. A Drawing by Samuel J. Brown.

AS THE CROW FLIES 125

THINE OWN SELF. By Roland Hayes 127

A HISTORY OF THE NEGRO VOTE 128

THE OCCUPATIONAL FUTURE OF THE NEGRO. By George F. McCray 129

THE McGHEES OF ST. PAUL. Illustrated 130

NIGHT. A Poem. By Helena Issel 130

THE SLATER FUND. Illustrated 131

THE JAPANESE IN CALIFORNIA. By J. Max Bond 132

WINSHIP AND THE GLEAM. A Story. By Bertram A. Lewis 133

ALONG THE COLOR LINE. Illustrated 135

POSTSCRIPT. By W. E. B. DuBois 140

THE JULY CRISIS

NEGRO DELINQUENTS AND DEPENDENTS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE WITHIN OUR RACE.

AUGUST .... Our *Annual Education Number* and a discussion of the "Field and Function of the Negro American College."

Future numbers will treat *Civil Rights, Race Pride, Religion and Pan Africa.*

The few dollars of which I am possessed are already cheap enough. I have no ambition to cheapen them further by inflation or hocus pocus of any sort.

•

We are all getting the uncomfortable idea that the extraordinary smoke screen in Washington is after all concealing a pitiably small fire.

•

The proposed expenditures of Mr. Roosevelt are arresting: Two Thousand Millions for farmers; Three Thousand Millions for homes; and other Thousands and Millions and Billions for banks, railroads, food, forests, dams and everything else—but would it be too much to ask who is going to pay these bills and when and how?

•

The Englishman who is living on money which somebody else earned pays $1 out of every $3 of income as a tax to the state. If we taxed our millionaires on this scale our financial troubles would be over. We prefer to put a sales tax of 2 per cent on the widow's mite. Mississippi reports astonishing success, especially with poor black widows.

AS THE CROW FLIES

We've had a Prime Minister of England and a former Premier of France over here in close consultation with the heads of the American state. And if we may believe the published results, they might both have stayed home and saved a deal of time and money.

•

If you cannot elect judges and cannot criticize them or dispute them and if judges must make and change our laws, protect the dividends of corporations and prevent the punishment of the rich, then we must confess that the Iowa idea appeals to us mightily.

•

Any Alabama Negro accused of anything is guilty, even if proven innocent. Which shows that Reconstruction was all wrong.

•

The theory of the new administration is to keep talent at home and send the nit-wits to represent us abroad. Fine for us, but it's sure hard on Europe.

•

And Tariffs are intact and Debts endure and the sun rises and sets as usual on a sunless world.

•

It would have been a graceful gesture to omit daylight saving this year. What in God's name are we supposed to save daylight for anyhow?

•

If Hitler craves headlines, he must be very happy. Of his further ambitions, we are less certain.

•

The world's outlook continues cloaked in gloom: war and fasting in Asia, starvation in Africa, assassination in South America, no work in Europe and no pay in the United States; but spring flowers are blooming even in Alabama.

•

Peggy McMath's white abductor blackened his face; but we got the benefit of it just the same. It's the safest disguise a crook can use and our jails are full of Negroes serving such white criminals' time.

THE CRISIS *was founded in* 1910. *It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is* $1.50 *a year or* 15c *a copy. Foreign subscriptions* $1.75. *The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November* 2, 1910, *at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March* 3, 1879, *and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted.*

CRISIS SCHOOL DIRECTORY

HOWARD UNIVERSITY

SUMMER SESSION

Registration July 3, 1933

◆

Offers opportunity to teachers, social workers, and college students desiring to pursue courses leading to UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE degrees, with or without academic credit.

Courses are of the same content and credit value as those given in any other Quarter, and are conducted by members of the regular University faculty.

The entire University plant together with the educational facilities of the City of Washington are available to students and teachers of the SUMMER SESSION.

For BULLETIN and other information write

THE REGISTRAR
Howard University
Washington, D. C.

ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

Summer School

with

Morehouse College
Spelman College
Morris Brown College
Clark University
Atlanta School of Social Work
Gammon Theological Seminary

Affiliated

June 10 to July 21, 1933

● Graduate School ● College of Arts and Sciences ● Professional Social Work ● Rural Institute ● Ministers Institute and Religious Education ● Playground and Recreation Supervision ● Observation in Nursery School ● Professional Courses for Teachers and Administrators

For Bulletin address:

Registrar, Atlanta University,
Atlanta, Georgia

HAMPTON INSTITUTE

◆

SUMMER SESSION

FOR TEACHERS

First Session:

JUNE 14 to JULY 21

Second Session:

JULY 25 to AUGUST 30

◆

Standard courses leading to Bachelor's and Master's Degrees.

◆

For Bulletin, address:

DIRECTOR, SUMMER SESSION

Hampton Institute, Va.

FISK UNIVERSITY

Summer School

June 16–August 18, 1933

Summer Quarter for Advanced and Graduate Students

For Particulars, Address

The Director of the Summer School,
Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

MOREHOUSE COLLEGE

ATLANTA, GA.

College, School of Religion

AN institution famous within recent years for its emphasis on all sides of manly development—the only institution in the far South devoted solely to the education of Negro young men.

Graduates given high ranking by greatest northern universities. Debating, Y. M. C. A., athletics, all live features.

FOR INFORMATION, *Address*
S. H. ARCHER, President

VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY

Richmond, Virginia

Composed of Wayland College for men, Hartshorn Memorial College for women, Richmond Theological Seminary for ministers and missionaries. Offers splendid opportunities for thorough training. All inquiries promptly answered.

MORGAN COLLEGE

(Co-educational)

BALTIMORE, MD.

Location—College town between North and South.

Courses—Semester credit system. B. A. and B. S. Degrees, Music.

Rating—Accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools,—The State Board of Education in Maryland and other States,—the Regents of the University of New York,—American Medical Association.

Site—Eighty-five acres, beautiful scenery, athletic fields.

Dormitories—Equipped and supervised.

Registration—1st semester Sept. 18th; second semester Jan. 29th.

Summer School—Six weeks—June 26th.

For Information Address:
EDWARD N. WILSON, Registrar

Rendall Hall

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

All the past we leave behind,
We debouch upon a newer, mightier world, varied world;
Fresh and strong the world we seize, world of labor and the march,
Pioneers. O pioneers.

Walt Whitman wrote these lines in 1865.

Eleven years before, Lincoln University at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, started pioneering in cultural education for Negro young men.

It invites to its fellowship those who would pioneer in service to their race and to humanity.

The 79th academic year opens September 19, 1933.

The costs for 1933–1934 have been revised DOWNWARDS.

Address: **THE PRESIDENT, Lincoln University at Lincoln University, Pa.**

Thine Own Self

By ROLAND HAYES

A ONCE much-discussed book entitled "Ships That Pass In The Night" comes to my mind as I set myself to the task of sharing with the readers of the CRISIS some of the thoughts that crave expression.

It seems to me that nothing is more tragic than barks launched upon the sea of life, ignorant of the whence and all too often unmindful of the whither. What a purposeless sea it is, in many cases! And when it is purposeful, how often painfully misguided is the craft.

Naturally one, and feeling with the artists, my thoughts turn readily to musical individuals aiming with varying intent at a brilliant career in the concert field. And why not, if the holy call be theirs? Of courage there is no end. Many times it is to do or die in the attempt, but—how frequently is our doing and dying without any tangible results; and this largely because we have taken the wrong field in which to toil, or have set out to take the shortest cut to achievement. In either case, it is a fruitless undertaking. And what could the end be, but failure?

Perhaps we can arrive at the cause of some of these failures; and if we can, this bit of communion with my readers will not have been in vain.

The first questions, it seems to me, that the would-be artist should ask himself are: "Have I developed sufficient background for an intelligent and adequate approach to the matter in hand?"; "Have I the power to attain perspective requisite to a proper sense of values with respect to what I hope to contact in my chosen field?"; "Have these values been felt out, lived with, and worked upon from the point of view of the individual, life-essence within, or has the attempt been made to discover merely what others had to offer us as foundations for the desired career?"

I venture to wager that the answers to most of the above questions (whether by Artists or otherwise), would be in the negative, particularly as regards the last query. I very much fear that we are too prone to accept without thought the educational formulas that have been worked out or discovered by those quite outside our group.

I find no fault with them or with the originators; I simply suggest that it is not to our advantage to accept this before first we shall have exhausted every means of information from the life-stream which flows along the borderlines of our own consciousness, within our grasp as surely as it is within the grasp of those from whom we take our life pattern. And all this is as though we had no gifts or talent of our own with which to discover and explore the fertile areas native to us, which await our disposition to extract from them inherent riches.

Roland Hayes

Surely we have our own nobleness. It is our true urge, our heritage, and though it may lead to utterly unexplored fields of human endeavor, it must be heeded, no matter what the cost in way of sacrifice, difficulty or discomfort; for it is the only way to find again the road to real achievement. The apprenticeship necessary for such achievement will be all the security we shall need against onslaughts; and the accomplishment that needs must crown well-directed effort will be encouragement to those who come after to be themselves and not somebody else.

Certainly, an understanding of this truth is within the power of each and every one of us, irrespective of race or circumstance. All that is needed is faith in urge which directs the soul towards the light that is its own.

"Child of my love, fear not the unknown morrow,
Dread not the new demand life makes upon thee;
Thy ignorance doth hold no cause for sorrow,
Since what thou knowest not is known to me.

"Thou can'st not see today the hidden meaning of my command,
But thou the light shalt gain;
Walk on in faith upon my promise leaning,
And as thou goest, all shall be made plain.

"One step thou seest, then go forward boldly,
One step is far enough for faith to see;
Take that, and thy next duty shall be told thee,
For step by step thy Lord is leading thee.

"Stand not in fear thy adversaries counting,
Dare every peril save to disobey;
Thou shalt march on, all obstacles surmounting,
For I, The Strong, will open up the way.

"Wherefore go gladly to the task assigned thee,
Having my promise, needing nothing more than just to know
That where'er the future find thee;
In all thy journeyings, I go before!"

Started on our own road, we shall one day again find ourselves possessed of that truth which forms distinctively our mental and spiritual horizons; and when we have re-awakened to whom and what we really are, we, in that instant, shall find within our own consciousness, the technique by which we may deliver the message that is ours, that is to say, the truth which we have found.

Until we can differentiate, in the sense of delicately blended human relation, between our own life-patterns and those of other individuals and of other racial groups, we cannot expect to be looked upon as other than copyists, often bad copyists, of those who have advanced in their own way and by their own right.

Let us, therefore, strive daily (yes, even in our circumstances), to reach a more independent re-action to the life that is our very own, so that our hearts and minds may bring up blooms from the soil of our own feelings. When we have better learned not to re-act in ways not born with us, we may re-act in our own ways, honestly and unafraid, and bring the pattern of our culture to the pattern of others. Then I think each will better set off and harmonize in true equality of beauty.

A History of the Negro Vote

IN every American colony in its earliest days the Negro, if free and meeting the other requirements, had the right to vote. Even in South Carolina in 1701 "free Negroes were received and taken for as good electors as the best free holders of the province." By the first constitution of Virginia, there was no color line for voters. So too, in all the other colonies—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina and Georgia, there was no color line for voters, although the actual number of black voters was small, since few of the Negroes were free and few of those who were free had the requisite property qualifications.

Restrictions, however, based on color began to appear as slavery became better established. South Carolina in 1716, Virginia in 1723, Georgia in 1761, all restricted voting to white men. Nevertheless, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, Negroes could vote in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and North Carolina; that is, in 10 of the 13 colonies which formed the Union.

Moreover, in 1778, the Congress of the Confederation twice refused to insert the word "white" in the Articles of Confederation in asserting that free inhabitants in each state should be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of free citizens of the several states. In the law of 1783, free Negroes were recognized as a basis of taxation, and in 1784, they were recognized as voters in the territories. In the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, "free male inhabitants of full age" were recognized as voters.

Then during a long process of about 40 years beginning with Delaware in 1792, followed by Tennessee in 1796, Kentucky in 1799 and Maryland in 1801, Negroes were disfranchised, and although the territorial governments permitted the Negro to vote, as states came in, they usually prevented voting. Thus, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Missouri and later Arkansas, Florida and Texas, came into the Union with constitutions not permitting Negroes suffrage.

In North Carolina, however, it was not until 1835 that the constitution disfranchised Negro voters who numbered several hundred and who, it is testified, usually voted "prudently and judiciously." A new set of disfranchising laws began as the cotton kingdom became established. In Connecticut the constitution of 1818 inserted the word "white" in qualifications for voters, and an attempt to change this in 1847 was defeated by a vote of 19,495 to 5,616. Even as late as 1865 a majority of 6,272 was cast against Negro suffrage in Connecticut.

In New York in 1821 while free Negroes were permitted to vote, they had to have real estate worth $250 instead of $100 required of white people. An attempt was made to abolish this extra property qualification in 1845, and in 1860 the proposal was rejected by a vote of 337,984 to 197,503.

In New Jersey in 1807, the Negroes were disfranchised, but this was repealed in 1820 and re-enacted in 1847. In Pennsylvania there was no restriction on Negroes voting until 1838 when they were disfranchised until the passage of the 15th amendment. Negroes were disfranchised in the District of Columbia until the bill of January 8, 1867, passed over Johnson's veto.

In the west, Ohio on entering the Union disfranchised Negroes, and as late as 1867 defeated Negro suffrage by a majority of 50,629. Indiana disfranchised Negroes by its constitution of 1816, and Illinois by the constitution of 1818. In 1862 a new constitution in Illinois permitting Negro suffrage was defeated by a vote of 171,896 to 71,306. Iowa disfranchised Negroes by her constitution of 1844. In 1857 by a very small vote, Negro suffrage was permitted. Michigan by the constitution of 1835 permitted only white people to vote and defeated an attempt to change this in 1850. As late as 1868 a new constitution omitting the word "white" was defeated by a majority of 38,849. Minnesota would not allow Negroes to vote and defeated the constitutional amendment in 1865 by a vote of 1,315 and also another proposition in 1867. Wisconsin in 1844 refused to let Negroes vote and defeated Negro suffrage in 1846. Finally, Negro suffrage was carried in 1849 by a very light vote. The supreme court, however, in 1866 decided that it was legal. California and Oregon did not allow the Negro to vote until the 15th amendment.

During the Civil War, Secretary Chase, afterward Chief Justice of the United States, suggested that educated Negroes, soldiers and property holders have the right to vote in the reconstructed states, and both Lincoln and Johnson made this suggestion in Louisiana and Mississippi, but nothing came of it.

Then the 14th amendment passed, placing a penalty of fewer congressmen upon those states which did not allow the Negro to vote. This was followed by the reconstruction laws of 1867, which allowed the Negroes to vote in the conventions which reconstructed the states, and the states thus reconstructed helped to pass the 15th amendment which established Negro suffrage.

Between the years 1868–1876, large numbers of Negroes voted in the South. The following white and colored voters registered in the South under the Reconstruction Acts of 1867:

Arkansas and Mississippi did not separate the registration by race:

States	*Whites*	*Colored*	*Total*
Alabama	61,295	104,518	165,813
*Arkansas	.....	.....	60,831
Florida	11,914	16,089	28,003
Georgia	96,331	95,168	191,501
Louisiana	45,218	84,436	129,654
*Mississippi	.....	.....	139,6 0
North Carolina	106,721	72,932	179,653
South Carolina	46,882	80,550	127,432
Texas	59,633	49,497	109,130
Virginia	120,101	105,832	225,933

By means of this voting power, Negroes had during these years two members of the United States Senate, over thirty members of Congress, large numbers of members of the State Legislatures, and persons holding state and local offices. Three things Negro suffrage did for the South during Reconstruction:

1. Established democratic government by inaugurating universal suffrage.

2. Establishing a free public school system.

3. Began new legislation for social betterment and wider distribution of land and wealth.

"Finally, in legislation covering property, the wider functions of the state, the punishment of crime and the like, it is sufficient to say that the laws on these points established by Reconstruction legislatures were not only different from and even revolutionary to the laws in the older South, but they were so wise and so well suited to the needs of the new South that in spite of a retrogressive movement following the overthrow of the Negro governments the mass of this legislation, with elaboration and development, still stands on the statute books of the South.

"Reconstruction constitutions, practically unaltered, were kept in

Florida, 1868–1885.....17 years.
Virginia, 1870–1902.....32 years.
South Carolina, 1868–1895.....27 years.
Mississippi, 1868–1890.....22 years.

"Even in the case of states like Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Louisiana, which adopted new constitutions to signify the overthrow of Negro rule, the new constitutions are nearer the model of the Reconstruction document than they are to the previous con-

stitutions. They differ from the Negro constitutions in minor details but very little in general conception.

"Besides this there stands on the statute books of the South today law after law passed between 1868 and 1876, and which has been found wise, effective, and worthy of preservation.

"Paint the 'carpet-bag' governments and Negro rule as black as may be, the fact remains that the essence of the revolution which the overturning of the Negro governments made was to put these black men and their friends out of power. Outside the curtailing of expenses and stopping of extravagance, not only did their successors make few changes in the work which these legislatures and conventions had done, but they largely carried out their plans, followed their suggestions, and strengthened their institutions. Practically the whole new growth of the South has been accomplished under laws which black men helped to frame thirty years ago. I know of no greater compliment to Negro suffrage." *

Beginning in 1876, Negro voters in the South were disfranchised by force and fraud, and between 1890 and 1910, a series of laws were passed, legalizing by various subterfuges the exclusion of the Negro from the ballot; so that since 1910, in the lower South, the Negro has exercised but a limited right to vote. This situation was acquiesced in by Negro leaders for a long time, under the advice of Booker T. Washington, that it was better for them to let politics alone and concentrate on industrial and economic uplift. Since the war, however, the interest of the Negro in voting has been revived, especially since the proportion of them living in the North, where voting is possible, has been greatly increased. Including the Border States, probably one-third of the Negro population is enfranchised, and probably casts today over 2,000,000 votes. The future possibilities of the Negro vote are large.

In 1930, there were in the United States 5,552,475 Americans of Negro descent, 21 years of age and over; in 1930, there were 6,531,939, or 9 per cent of the voting population, of which 3,235,441 were men and 3,296,498 women. Negroes form 26 per cent of the voting population of the Southern and Border states, and over 4 per cent of the voters of the North and East, and 5 per cent in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Illinois.

Of the 4,847,000 Negro voters of the South, from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 are disfranchised. This leaves an effective black voting population of 2,500,000 to 3,000,000.

On the other hand, the situation in the South not only disfranchises half the working class, and makes them the more or less helpless tools of exploiting capital, but also concentrates the voting power of which they are deprived in the hands of the whites, giving the white South an extraordinary political power, as compared with the North and the West. It has been computed that the white voter in the South has anywhere from three to seven times the power of a Northern voter. And in addition to this, through the seniority laws in Congress, he is able largely to dominate committees and legislation. This makes a third party movement of any sort exceedingly improbable in the United States.

The problem, therefore, is how democratic government is going to be restored in the South through Negro votes, and how the votes of white and black workers are to be used for the advancement and development of the nation.

*American Historical Review, Vol. XV, p. 798-9.

On the Occupational Future of the Negro

By GEORGE F. McCRAY

ONE certainly cannot study the position of the Negro in American industry without alarm. There is sufficient evidence to warrant the suspicion that in the new and reformed economic patterns to be evolved from the present temporary collapse of capitalism, the economic position of the Negro will be far less secure. Discriminating and labor-monopolizing unions—technological displacement and a centralized individualistic control over the nation's industry will confront the weak, disorganized, and unintelligent masses of Negroes with an impassable barrier. All our planning for the future must be in anticipation of this eventual economic lock out.

Such a condition need not entail a repudiation of the idea that the latent goodness of white people will somehow protect us. Such sentiment in the face of economic necessity will receive slight consideration, but it's quite probable that we will witness a recrudescence of the old preachments on the natural inferiority of the Negro. The moral degradation of the Negro having been accomplished through economic poverty will be explained in a manner to protect the self-esteem of those responsible for the condition.

But what are those realities that will drive America back into this fool's paradise of self-deception? The answer is not far to seek and a general understanding of it should blast us out of our optimistic self-praise and make us reexamine our faith in the powers that be and our faith in our own progress.

Here is the situation: In industry the Negro is simply a marginal laborer whose margin of employment has continually narrowed since the great war. The farm problem rests far more heavily upon his voteless head than that of his white competitor. Unfortunately the problems depressing these two basic industries are so complicated and inextricably interwoven with foreign interests and politics that our most imposing economists and fabulously shrewd bankers are as confused over the condition as was little Alice in Wonderland.

But they are hopelessly reactionary and will resist change with every resource at their command. At present the wealth of the nation and most of its brain power is in their control. Now the measures they are taking to maintain their control is a policy they will be forced to continue until its possibilities are completely exhausted. Persecuting Communists and ridiculing Technocrats are mere byplay compared to what is being done to the Negro. According to the National Urban League, the labor department, and investigations made by independent organizations and private persons, the Negro is simply being displaced by a white worker. Undoubtedly dissatisfaction among Negroes as a result of the faulty organization of the Nation's industry is far less consequential than it would be among whites. Only an optimistic fool will claim the Negro will regain this lost ground under normal conditions; not to mention a declining "prosperity."

And the accumulated wealth we are losing through bank and insurance company failures, through mortgage foreclosures on homes and farms will take us many a hard year of toil to regain. Moreover who can fairly estimate the time it will take us to regain our losses in group morale and self-confidence?

This situation is so grave as to defy exaggeration. And whatever our views on solving the race problem we cannot ignore the fact that our economic interests are one. For us this is our starting point. Any Negro who does not know this can hardly consider himself intelligent.

Therefore the question as to where the Negro laborer will find work is of vital concern to every Negro especially those in the professions. And the laboring Negro looks to this professional group for his leadership. At present this is a misfortune, for the professional Negro as a group is as blind as the proverbial ostrich. The one hides his head to escape danger while the other keeps his mind closed to problems confronting the masses of Negroes thinking he is not affected by them.

Of course, unemployment among Negroes need not be as bad as it is. Long ago we could have erected a partial defense against it if only we had been willing to face our problems as an intelligent group should. Race prejudice in every conceivable manner was well known to us, but despite this, we attempted little capitalist ventures which were as helpless as a card house in a wind storm. Today we are confronted with an economic situation that becomes more perilous each year.

But we still have one economic force we can use to break into the occupational life of the nation. We have the organized power of consumers, but even that requires a degree of organization which has not yet been demonstrated to our credit.

The many methods of cooperation actually in operation can be easily adapted to our needs. This is the one great value of segregation—this is a remedy we should utilize without another years' delay.

It is superfluous to add that the continued existence of the Negro professional class and the continuation of our progress depend fundamentally upon the degree of efficiency with which they handle the occupational problems of the masses of Negroes. The responsibility is undeniably upon them. They alone have the ability—the self-confidence and the resources. Are they equal to the responsibility? That's the question.

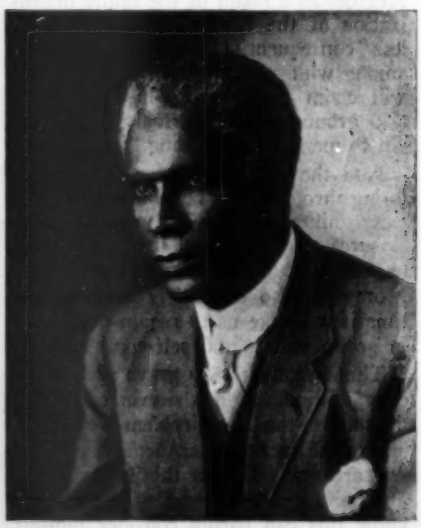
The McGhee's of St. Paul

WHEN the Niagara movement was contemplated, and we were trying to find in the United States a few colored men who dared to stand up and ask plainly and unequivocally for the full manhood rights of American Negroes; the right to vote, the right to travel without insult, the right to education, college as well as elementary and industrial,—when we looked about for these men, among the fourteen who eagerly volunteered, was Frederick L. McGhee of St. Paul.

He was a lawyer, born in Aberdeen, Mississippi, October 27, 1861. After the Civil War, his parents, Abraham and Sarah McGhee, moved to Knoxville, Tennessee, where he attended school and also matriculated at Knoxville College. In 1880, he went to Chicago and after three years' study, he was admitted to the bar and became in 1885 a partner of the celebrated Edward H. Morris, perhaps the greatest lawyer that the Negro race has produced in America. In 1886, Mr. McGhee married Mattie B. Crane of Louisville, Kentucky, who was born in Louisville in 1869, and then moved to St. Paul, where McGhee was the first Negro to practice law before the Supreme Court of Minnesota.

He was an extraordinary lawyer; unusual in personal appearance,—tall, thin, dark, with a hawk-like physiognomy, piercing eyes, and intense and eloquent in speech. He became easily the most famous criminal lawyer at the St. Paul bar, and with a predominantly white clientele, he literally worked himself to death. I remember camping with him one summer on the Apple river, Wisconsin, and his clients swarmed over the country-side and with boats invaded the lake where he was fishing in order to consult him. Around the campfire, he used to tell us extraordinary stories of his adventures, and I am only sorry that I did not set some of them down. There was one story that stays with me of a murderer whom McGhee agreed to defend. But everything depended upon his voluntary surrender. While the police of two cities were seeking to capture him, McGhee sat in his carriage and nonchalantly talked with groups of policemen who were searching for the prisoner, while their prisoner lay concealed in the back of the carriage.

McGhee was a Catholic, a great friend of the late Bishop Ireland and an unswerving and self-sacrificing champion of the colored race. He died September 19, 1912. Mrs. McGhee survived him until January 30, 1933, making her home in New York. They leave one daughter, Ruth.



Frederick L. McGhee

Night

By Helena Issel

DARK cradle of the day I dream to life,
The day whose dreams are moons of melted Night;
The day which is your perfume-girdled wife
Awaiting your arms to smother out her light.
(The night to some is all that makes the day
Endurable, as love takes grief to mate.
The night is like a wan light on a bay
For shoreless ships which come to plunder fate.)
Your drug is languid as a broken flower,
Black as the eyes you kissed in love to hell . .
Drug that makes moonlight of the midnight hour,
And leaves twice dark, the day we know too well.
No arms are half so soft as yours save death.
No perfume like the sadness of your breath.

Mattie B. McGhee

The Slater Fund

THE Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund celebrated April 27th at Hampton Institute, the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of their Fund, and it is an appropriate time to review the great work which this foundation has done for the Negro race in America.

"On the 18th of May, 1882, Mr. Slater met the Board of Trustees in the City of New York and transferred to them the sum of one million dollars, a little more than half of it being already invested, and the remainder being cash to be invested at the discretion of the Board. On that occasion the Trustees addressed him a letter acknowledging his generosity, and they invited him always to attend their meetings; but he never met with them again, and declined to guide in any way their subsequent action. The gift of Mr. Slater was acknowledged by expressions of gratitude from every part of the country.

"The characteristics of this gift were its Christian spirit, its patriotism, its munificence, and its freedom from all secondary purposes, or hampering conditions. In broad and general terms, the donor indicated the object which he had in view; the details of management he left to others, confident that their collective wisdom and the experience they must acquire would devise better modes of procedure, as the years go on, than any individual could propose in advance." *

James H. Dillard

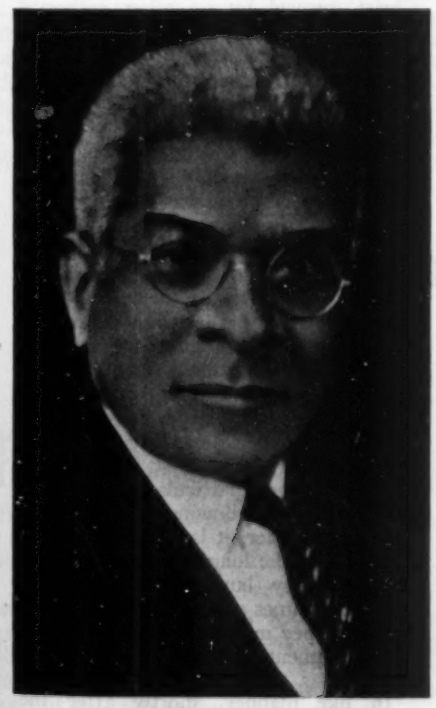
The object of this Fund was stated simply as being for the purpose of "uplifting the lately emancipated population of the Southern states and their posterity." Congress gave him a vote of thanks and a medal, and seldom has a foundation been more consistent and effective in carrying out the wishes of the donor.

Between 1882–1931, this Fund has distributed $3,690,714 in 18 states and territories, of which $2,268,507 went to private institutions, and $1,422,407 to public schools. Of that which went to private institutions, nearly $1,000,000 went to strengthen Hampton and Tuskegee; and thirty or more of the leading colleges and universities among colored people have been helped at various critical times by this Fund.

In later years, the Slater Fund has taken a strategic and needed step in encouraging country training schools for high school work and preparation of teachers. This work began in 1911, and in 1930–1931, there were 386 such schools in fourteen states toward which the Slater Fund and the General Education Board appropriated for salaries and equipment, $112,414, while $2,120,253 came from the public tax funds. In this way, more or less reluctant rural school authorities have been induced to give the beginnings of high school training to Negro children in country districts. This work was especially the work of James Hardy Dillard.

Dr. Dillard became General Agent of the John F. Slater Fund, April 29, 1910, and was President of the Board of Trustees from 1917 until his retirement from active work, June 30, 1931. The greatest monument to Dr. Dillard's incumbency, was not simply his intelligent and sympathetic distribution of money, but one action so quietly done that most persons, even of Negro descent, have not noticed it or commented upon it.

We used to have national conferences on the Negro to which no Negro was invited. Since then, we have had national funds administered for Negroes by Boards of Trustees of which no Negro was a member. The Jeanes Fund broke the ice with a considerable number of Negro members several years ago; but the Slater Fund, the General Education Board, the Rosenwald Fund, the Laura Spelman Foundation and others saw and for the most part see no incongruity in working for a group without having any member of



Charles C. Spaulding

Arthur S. Wright

* From Memorial Sketch of John F. Slater, by Dr. Daniel C. Gilman, of Baltimore, then Secretary of the Board. (1884.)

the group in effective consultation. Dr. Dillard knew that this policy was wrong. He wanted to change it, and yet change it in a perfectly natural manner.

"For several years the Slater Board was proposing to elect a colored member, and I am glad it was brought about before I went out of office. After all, I proposed Mr. Spaulding as likely to be a good member, not as a colored man, but as a man. I may be absurd in my conviction about this, but anyhow that is my theory, and I should be rather sorry for you to make too much a matter of the race side. All right simply to state the fact."

And so, without heralding of trumpets, C. C. Spaulding, head of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Company, and a colored business man of standing, is now a member of the Slater Board. Dr. Dillard himself regards the county training schools as really his greatest and most significant accomplishment.

Upon Dr. Dillard's retirement, he was succeeded by Arthur D. Wright. Mr. Wright was born in Boston in 1885; educated at William and Mary and at Harvard, and taught school in Virginia. From 1915–1920, he was State Supervisor of Negro Schools in Virginia; and then became Assistant Professor of Education at Dartmouth. He left this position to take charge of the Slater Fund.

The Negro race has reason to be deeply thankful for the enlightened policy which this Fund has pursued. It began by helping industrial education, but it recognized also the claims of higher education. It helped Negro colleges, but it soon perceived that without public high schools, Negro colleges could not exist. It has for years and years put more of its energies into public high school work. And above all, it has recognized that in matters concerning the Negro, the Negro must have a voice.

The Japanese in California

By J. MAX BOND

The writer was awarded a Rosenwald Scholarship for the purpose of studying minority groups on the Pacific Coast, under the direction of Doctor E. S. Bogardus, Head of the Department of Sociology of the University of Southern California. Prior to the granting of this scholarship, the writer was Director of the Kentucky Interracial Commission.

THE immigration of the Japanese to America was indeed insignificant until after the year 1882. In 1882, however, the United States enacted a Chinese Exclusion Law. The large landowners in Southern California, where Chinese immigration had reached its highest peak, had depended upon the cheap labor provided by the immigration of coolie workers for the successful harvesting of their crops. Being deprived of a ready supply of this type of labor, due to the Exclusion Act, they turned their attention to a new source of labor supply. The landholder had already found in the few Japanese laborers available to them qualities that made these workers a desirable type of farm help. Hence by making alluring offers they encouraged the Japanese peasants to migrate to the United States. At this time Western railroad companies were busily engaged in the construction of transcontinental railroad systems. They too encouraged the advent of the Japanese to the Pacific Coast. In truth, the Japanese, due to the terrific hardships placed upon them by virtue of the fact that 37,000,000 souls depended for their livelihood upon 147,657 acres, all of which was not suitable for cultivation, were already casting longing eyes toward American shores. Thus the invitation extended to them by American landowners and capitalists was responded to by an increased migration to this country.

In spite of a later restriction, the Gentleman's Agreement affected between America and Japan, intended to control and diminish the number of Japanese immigrants, Japanese immigration to America seems to have shown a steady increase. The following figures are indicative of this growth: In 1890 there were only 2,000 Japanese; in 1910 24,000; in 1920, 110,000; and in 1930, the total Japanese population had increased to 138,834. The casual observer, no doubt, has already begun to wonder why so small a group should even be mentioned in a country so conglomerate in its population composition as is America. But when it is remembered that 97,456 of this number are residents of the state of California, with 21,081 concentrated in the city of Los Angeles, the racial problem arising therefrom becomes apparent. Especially will the observer become alert to the situation when he takes into consideration the fact that this is one non-white group that, in spite of its minority of numbers, competes successfully with the whites.

Furthermore, as the Japanese increased in numbers on the Pacific Coast, there was an accompanying increase in racial animosity toward them. Politicians took the Japanese invasion as their chief weapon in the gentle and manly art of office seeking and rode to full political manhood and greatness in the powerful vehicles of hate and prejudice that they had created. "Elect me to office and save our American motherhood from the yellow peril," was their frenzied war cry. The American Legion, telling the world that theirs is a free man's country, climbed to heights of racial antipathy on the bent backs of Japanese farmers. Amalgamated purity clubs, as represented by many of the churches of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, proved by no other authority than the Holy Bible that the Japanese were hopelessly inferior and rejected of God. Labor organizations bore the brunt of this noble battle, as is indicated by their gentlemanly and chivalrous attempts to stage several lynching bees.

The summation of all these inspired works was that a law was passed whereby Japanese immigrants could not purchase land individually or cooperatively, and the practice of vesting the title of lands in the names of their American-born children was severely curtailed. As a matter of fact, before this law was passed, the Japanese were operating 450,000 acres and were contemplating the purchase of a larger acreage. In accord with expectations, the passage of this law operated against the progress of the Japanese, particularly in the immediate period following. After a few months, however, it is reported that by resorting to the longtime lease arrangement and by buying more property under the names of their American-born children, they minimized the severity of this enactment devised to retard their progress.

In like manner, shortly after the

Japanese arrived on American shores, those who had been responsible for native migration from Japan to America —namely, the great business corporations and landowners—partially expelled the Japanese laborers from their service. Cheap Mexican labor was substituted in their stead. Coincident with this attitude of the landowners and the capitalists was the development of a similar attitude among labor unions. The American Federation of Labor, operating through labor unions, refused to work with Japanese labor. It went so far as to threaten to boycott the commodities of firms which employed Japanese workmen. It may readily be seen that the action taken by the labor unions was a terrific blow to the economic hopes and aspirations of a progressive people whose minority position made them dependent upon their ability to secure employment from American capitalists as well as the American industrial lords.

My readers perhaps have already noticed the similarity of the Japanese situation to the particular case in point —the present situation of the Negro. Conditions would tend to indicate that employment restrictions of the kind mentioned above are proving to be a serious handicap to Negro progress, just as they proved to be, at one time, a handicap to the Japanese. In times like these it should be of great value to the Negro group to study the methods that the Japanese employed in overcoming these difficult employment restrictions that were imposed upon them. Hence I again advise the American Negro to study the ways of the Japanese.

Instead of hurling bitter invective at the majority group, whose prejudices were at the root of their impending undoing, the Japanese literally went back to the soil. Swamp and desert lands were leased, land formerly considered impossible of cultivation. Under the careful and painstaking tillage of the Japanese, both swamp and desert were converted into highly productive truck farms. With such a quantity of vegetable produce at their disposal, Japanese farmers were able not only to undersell their white competitors but to drive these competitors out of the market. They captured it for themselves. As a further result of their soil economy the value of their crops increased during an eleven year period from $6,200,000 to $67,100,000. Moreover, the Japanese were not content to remain merely the producers of their crops; they desired to be distributors of them. Consequently, it soon followed that every block in the city of Los Angeles had its vegetable stand, at which good measure and polite and courteous service were extended to all. White merchants, alarmed at the inroads that Japanese venders were making upon their business, began a campaign intended to eliminate the Japanese salesman. The campaign ended with the Japanese more firmly entrenched in their new positions.

First hand information was gained on the inner workings of the Japanese economic machine by a visit to the Los Angeles Japanese Chamber of Commerce. At this office it was learned that the leaders among the Japanese people merge themselves completely with those who may be called followers. Here reference was made to the cooperative funds where Japanese invest a portion of their income and receive in return a proportionate share of the profits accruing therefrom. It was also with great interest that the interviewer listened to facts having to do with the full patronage that is enjoyed by Japanese doctors, lawyers, and business men from their people—facts indicating the existence of a cohesive spiritual union among these people, where peasant and lord are willing to sacrifice themselves for the well-being and the advancement of the group. In other words, these people face the world with an unselfish and an undying spirit of confidence in one another.

The writer is aware of the fact that a full comparison of the Negro with the Japanese would be somewhat unfair to the Negro, due to several reasons—the first of these being that the Japanese are backed by a powerful government whose influence as a world power gives added dignity to the position of her subjects. Further, the Japanese in America, it is reported, follow a well organized program that has been carefully worked out for them by the Japanese diplomatic service. It will be seen at once that the Negro is at a great disadvantage in both respects, for his government seems entirely indifferent to his progress and includes in her program ways and means whereby the progress of the Negro might be curtailed.

On the other hand the writer feels that definite comparisons might be made in regard to the economic and spiritual unity of these two minority groups. He is of the further opinion that the Negro en masse and the Negro leadership in particular may be roundly condemned for their crude and criminal individualism manifested by their dealings with one another. The Negro, it would seem, needs above all things a cohesive spiritual union—a *we* spirit that is resident in the mind of every individual to the extent that he will make sacrifices for the good of his group and will consider the group purpose high and beyond his own selfish ambitions. Group bargaining, group buying, combined group action, and an effective technique of boycotting as well as group profit-sharing are possibilities for a race with a cohesive spiritual unity.

The Japanese have effected such a spirit. Thus it is spoken to the Negro: "Go to the Japanese, thou sluggard."

Winship and the Gleam

A Story of Elegance and Dirt

By BERTRAM A. LEWIS

BROWNING could have had in mind the image of one very much like young Professor Emanuel Winship when he wrote:

"My friend, I've seen a white crane bigger."

Winship's skin was brown, but it would be easy to find a white crane grimier and grosser. Delicacy swam about him—delicacy visible and apparent in his impeccable neatness, the toast of the campus; invisible, yet manifest, in his soulful earnestness, characteristic of one wistful for the truth. The firmness of his mouth, its disturbing determination, took nothing from his elegance; but rather added intelligence where grace might slop over into an appearance of vacuity, and made the crane-like fineness even finer by contrast, like the clowns in *Hamlet,* or like the last mist persisting beneath the torture of the rising sun.

To this add a certain unconscious showmanship in the classroom and out, and you see why the campus editors had to tamper with the last ballots to prevent Winship's being re-elected as the most popular teacher, these conscientious youths being anxious to have this most coveted honor passed around. Winship was not essentially what is called a mixer, however. The secret of his popularity lay in the fact that he carefully cultivated a few friends, and watered and weeded these three or four

with such grace and faithful skill that their enthusiasm spread abroad.

One such Achates, Dr. Paul Hazard, a colleague in the humanities, was sitting late into a night in Winship's room. Taking a turn about the value and efficiency of higher education for Negroes, the conversation had become an argument.

"There is a hungry spot, Paul, that we have not fed," Winship was saying, "and in neglecting it we have gone famished ourselves. Our duty to the proletariat—"

Hazard, stocky, well-fed, but nevertheless whimsical, snapped him off. "I have little confidence," said Hazard, with the assured air of one accustomed to speaking *ex cathedra*, "in one who presumes to tell the wheels of progress, social or otherwise, how they are to turn. This duty to the proletariat you speak of! Bunkum! Why, what teacher like myself, fading out of middle age, does not feel the sunset of life come without a sense of well being at having served hundreds of young minds, and through them thousands of unenlightened souls?"

Winship hitched forward suddenly in his chair. "Those 'unenlightened souls!' There surely must be some closer contact with them."

Hazard's smile was one of doubt. "Some contacts must be indirect. You see, Emanuel, it is not only in the phenomena of physics that we have the fact of induction."

Winship reflected a bit, touching his dainty finger tips together.

"Speaking of that 'well-being,'" he finally said with abruptness, "suppose Paul, that people got joy only in enlargening the lives of others. There's a vicious cycle for you! In this matter, as in all others, balance is needed. A missionary—and, admit it or not, that is what you feel yourself to be—who wishes to give all and receive nothing, gives nothing and takes all. You must not only serve those unenlightened souls; you must get close enough for them to serve you, too, or else, damn it, they'll hate you for the teapot tempest that you really are! The real intellectual giant, Paul, is a giant like Anteaus: hold him aloof, and he weakens; but let him touch the soil, and those who live with the soil, and his power is miraculous."

Winship's voice stopped, as he saw that his maturer companion did not share his conviction, to say nothing of his enthusiasm. And when a certain flash of heat stole into Hazard's eyes, Winship quivered a moment in apprehension.

Hazard rose to his feet and took his hat.

"Look at your hands, Emanuel!" he cried with unwonted fervor. "Neat as a lady's! Do you know what it means to be one with the masses? Do you know what it means to go down from your ivory tower and walk the dusty high-road? It means that which you hate above all things. It means *dirt!* Physical, mental, and moral *dirt!*"

Without another word for fear of breaking his powerful climax, Hazard strode from the room and closed the door on his friend, who, though vanquished and groveling in the dust, felt somehow that he had been cheated.

Winship sat numbly a while, his chin in his delicate hands. At length his eyes rose to his embossed mantel clock.

"Three o'clock!" he muttered, going over to his desk in a corner of the room. "*Comparative* literature—bah! Comparative implies two, or three, or a dozen. Hell, there's only one literature —*the* Literature. One might as well say 'comparative souls!' But I must give something. Tomorrow it's Richter. Three o'clock! Thank goodness, there's Carlyle."

And Emanuel Winship opened and arranged nearly a score of volumes, books in three languages, that were stacked neatly on his desk. But there was a sort of peevishness in his manner.

Later, when Winship raised his eye to find the clock showing five-fifteen, he was conscious of a feeling that his lecture, too, had beaten him. He carefully closed all the books, stacked them again neatly, and with a sigh fingered the precise little pink cards, swimming with notes in his small, sure handwriting.

"No more German than 'Rigoletto!' " he complained.

Winship then went to bed.

At eight Winship rose, with his eyes full of sleep that he tried to drive out with cold water. He dressed, went to a breakfast that was so much hay, and started to the library with the intention of spending there the hour before his first class.

But as he was passing through the grove which lay between his dormitory and the main campus, Winship's limbs were feeling numb, as if they had been injected with cocaine. Feeling rather tired and sleepy, he was lured by a bench sheltered from the sun by dense trees. He sat and sprawled, first glancing about to be sure that no one was near to see his undignified posture. Scarcely knowing how tired he really was, Winship was dimly aware of gazing at his watch, as if to time the period of his resting.

Then, dully, he raised his eyes and met what seemed a floating vision. It was a man, but to Winship's numbed senses he seemed to be lilting, like a cloud, or a rhythmic verse. It was all very ethereal, but Winship was not asleep, but perhaps about to doze away, for he could hear, as if from afar, the ticking of his watch.

The professor nodded in greeting to this passer-by, but he did not lift his head. There was a lull in which Winship was in momentary darkness. The man, the lullaby-singing trees, and the soporific spring air all vanished at once, as the sleep-laden lids clung together.

Then, as if in a dream, Winship was once more aware of the same man to whom he had just given his greeting. He was feeling his way forward.

"Blind!" muttered Winship, under his breath.

To his surprise, the blind man heard. "Yes, sir. A poor blind man."

At the sound of the word "poor" it seemed to Winship that he noticed that the man was ragged and bore on his wan face the unmistakable marks of hunger and privation. Strange! At first he looked prosperous enough! Momentarily, Winship cursed himself for his suggestibility. At that moment a definite shock quivered over his frame, and there flashed across his droning senses an impression of trees gently bristling and of soporific spring air slightly stirring. There seemed to be, ever so gentle, a foreign pressure at his elbow.

Then, as if by that pressure his attention had been drawn back to the weariness of his arm, Winship nodded again, and the trees and air were again plunged into darkness. And once more there was the tramp, this time rebuking.

"You never listen to us, you fine, smart men! Here you let a walnut tree drown me voice. God is in men like me, black and dirty as I am, not in trees! And you let trees and flowers, and a few purty red and black books drown out my voice. You, with all yer blab about yer 'dooty ter the proletariat!' "

Winship must have been astonished to hear an illiterate beggar use fluently his own habitual phrase. It stung him like a challenge. "What can I do for you? You're blind."

"What did the Man in the Bible do? Rub some mud in me eye! Mud in me eye, damn it, mud in me eye!"

"Nonsense, my man. It hasn't rained in days. There's no mud here."

The blind man sneered. "Leave it ter you fine fellers ter make excuses when somethin' goes agin yer taste. What did the Man do when there wasn't no mud? Take a mouthful of spit and make some! G'wan, spit! Come, I'll spit some ter help you."

Winship, horrified at the very word, squirmed as if in a nightmare. But there the fellow was, stooping on the ground, making a filthy puddle. With all the dread of a prisoner of the Inquisition approaching a torture, Winship felt an irresistible force sending him to his knees, shoulder to shoulder with the dirty blind beggar.

(Will you please turn to page 142)

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

AMERICA

In Oklahoma

White members of the governing board of Meridian, Oklahoma, who have held office for more than three decades, failed to file for election in the specified time and three Negro candidates, John Spann, John Holden and Tossie Flowers having complied with the town election laws were placed on the official ballot and duly elected. It is the privilege of the new board to elect members to fill all of the village offices.

The 21st Amendment

Attorney Charles A. Roxborough of Detroit was one of the delegates to the special Michigan State convention that ratified the 21st Amendment and registered Michigan's vote to repeal the 18th Amendment. Attorney Roxborough was a member of the Michigan Legislature.

"Southern Press"

The "Southern Press," an interracial, national news-gathering service has been organized to expose lynchings and lynch terror directed against Negro workers and white workers supporting them. The service is supported by the important Negro newspapers and the liberal press of the South.

Migrant Population

A state commission of seven Negroes has been appointed to study the migrant population of the State of New Jersey. The work of the commission is to begin at once.

Chicago City Council

There are two colored members of the new Chicago city council both of whom are Republicans, William J. Dawson and Robert R. Jackson.

Fighting Tuberculosis

The State-wide conference attempting serious study of the problem of lowering the death rate from tuberculosis among Negroes in Georgia has appointed a committee which will work to make tuberculosis control a state-wide task. The committee under the chairmanship of Forrester B. Washington of the Atlanta School of Social Work and the conference recommended that county, state and municipal agencies and authorities appoint Negro doctors to sanitoriums and clinics; that employment of trained Negro public health nurses be urged; that colleges and schools stress health education; that efforts be made to extend free education and other facilities at State expense to aid Negro doctors in the study of control methods, and that permanent committees be formed to promote tuberculosis control.

Interracial Student Conferences

The Texas Students' Inter-Racial Conference was attended by over 100 delegates from white and colored colleges of the State. Karl Everett Downs, senior at Samuel Huston College presided. The conference sent a committee to the State executive committees of the Democratic and Republican parties asking for full voting privileges for the Negro in all elections. Officials of the Pullman Company were requested to grant Negroes equal accommodations on trains and officials of the State Department were asked to survey educational opportunities for Negroes in the State with a view to establishing a State-maintained university for graduate and professional study.

"The Present Economic System and its Effect on Minority Groups" was the theme of the East Tennessee Student Inter-Racial Commission held at Morristown College.

Opinion on Scottsboro

Leading newspapers and magazines throughout the country have given editorial space to the famous trial of Heywood Patterson at Decatur. The address of Wade Wright to the jury was characterized by Raymond Daniell of the New York *Times* as "a frank appeal to local pride, sectionalism, race hatred and bigotry." "The second trial," stated the Richmond *News Leader* confirmed all the suspicions aroused by the first hearing." It further declared that "the men are being sentenced to death primarily because they are black." *The News* of Chattanooga asserts: "The Scottsboro case was a battle of prejudices. Indeed it has become such a mixture of propaganda and prejudice that we can not conceive of a civilized community taking human lives on the strength of the miserable affair." The Raleigh *News and Observer* called the verdict "outrageous." Says the Philadelphia *Ledger:* "The conduct of Wade Wright, the circuit solicitor who prosecuted the case was almost unparalleled in its cheap bigotry and unscrupulous demagogy. The failure to permit Negro representation on the jury actually, if not legally, violated the defendant's rights." *The Nation* and *The New Republic* both carried signed articles about the trial.

Wright-Cuney Park

On March 16, the Wright-Cuney Park, a playground and athletic field for colored youth, was dedicated at Galveston, Texas. The park, which commemorates the name of a great colored leader, was dedicated by Mayor J. E. Pearce for the Board of City Commissioners. The principals of the colored schools made addresses.

EUROPE

At the Montparnasse

Miss Helen Burney of New Jersey is on the stage at the Montparnasse theatre, France, in the drama, "In the Shadow of Evil." A Paris newspaper says of her: "Miss Burney makes a charming Fatima. Her voice reminds one in nuance of Josephine Baker's." It further characterizes her as a "young woman of great talent and grace."

ART

Music and Musicians

A large and enthusiastic audience applauded the benefit concert by the mem-

Mrs. Helen G. Curtis *Mrs. Mary L. Wilson* *Mrs. Cecelia Martin* *Miss Caroline Calloway*

Members of the committee of Washington, D. C., social leaders who sponsored the recent N.A.A.C.P. benefit dance.

bers of the faculty of the School of Music, Howard University. The proceeds of the concert were applied to the Student Scholarship Fund. The work of the singers and musicians was complete and beautiful.

At Orchestra Hall, Chicago, the Twentieth Anniversary Festival was held in honor of Professor James A. Mundy. During the past twenty years Mr. Mundy has been notable as a choral conductor. Negro musicians and music were featured on this anniversary occasion.

At the Sumner-Vashon concert by the Saint Louis Symphony Orchestra, 1200 Vashon high school students sang "Opportunity," by William C. Handy. "The effect obtained was one of grandeur," wrote Clarence H. Wilson of the Vashon high school and heartily recommended the poem as a fine song within the capacity of high school students.

Classical Music

Dante Fiorillo, composer and conductor, is bringing forth the works of Negro composers. Included in his programs which feature the works of Samuel Coleridge-Taylor are compositions by Kurt Beythien and Heinz Pauels. Pauel's works, played for the first time in America, included Praeludium and scherzo for flute, violin, viola and piano, String Quartette, opus 4, which is a prize composition and a Sextette. A symphony in D minor and a string quartette featured the works of Kurt Beythien.

College Dramatics

The Ira T. Aldridge Players of Brick Junior College recently gave a highly successful presentation of Charles R. Kennedy's, "The Servant in the House," in the College Little Theatre. Under the direction of M. Franklin Peters the players have attracted wide attention.

"Surprises of 1933"

The Doctors of Harlem of the newly organized Edgecombe Sanitorium enthusiastically presented themselves in a revue the "Surprises of 1933." As dancers they were good doctors, but a large audience was cheered and packed the auditorium each night that the practitioners went through their lines and acts. Members of the Girls' Advisory Committee of the Harlem Playground assisted in the revue.

Municipal Music

On April 27, the Baltimore City Colored Orchestra and the City Colored Chorus gave their second consecutive spring concert. This is the third season of the Colored Orchestra. The movement in creating good music under municipal auspices among the colored people of Baltimore was organized with the cooperation of the Board of School Commissioners and the support of an anonymous public-spirited citizen in 1929. Under the conductorship of W. Llewellyn Wilson the combined organizations most successfully presented a choice program.

SCHOOLS

Land Grant College Contest

Students of agriculture from seven Land Grant Colleges met at Hampton Institute for their annual contest in judging livestock and crops. Colleges sending delegates were the Land Grant Colleges of Florida, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Virginia and West Virginia. Cattle, hogs, farm mules, hens, white and sweet potatoes and corn were judged and there were forty different types of seeds for identification.

Scottsboro Schools

While Jackson county in increasing its tax burden prosecuting nine Negro boys, no colored or white high school sessions have been held this year. During the fiscal school year colored children will get a total of some two months of elementary schooling. According to a member of the board of trustees of the schools the highest pay received by any colored principal is $85 per month and the pay for elementary school teachers is from $45 to $60 a month.

Legacy to Lincoln U

Under the will of the late Mrs. Lucy S. Pierce of Wilmington, Delaware, a bequest of $5,000 has been left to Lincoln University, Pa., to found "The John B. Spotswood Scholarship."

School of Social Work

During the 1933–34 school year the Atlanta School of Social Work is limiting its student body to fifty especially qualified students. The Director of the School, Forrester B. Washington has requested that college presidents recommend to him those students who seem best fitted for training in social work.

WORK, WASTE AND WEALTH

Unemployed Strike

Unemployed men and women drawing Federal relief aid in Greensboro and High Point, North Carolina, walked out in strike in protest to the entire relief program in these two cities. High Point strikers demanded that at least two representatives, one white and one colored, represent the unemployed on the board controlling Federal relief; that the rate of pay should not be cut below $1.00 per day; that if relief funds are exhausted as claimed, the work be cut to two days at $1.20 per day to allow time for persons on relief to plant gardens; and that all persons be paid by the same scale. Requests upon the Greensboro local Family Service Agency ask that all discriminations in base pay be wiped out pointing out that at least four base scales of pay are in operation and that Negro women receive the lowest. They also ask that persons on relief be required to give only one day's work for $2.00 in relief and that there be recognized an established channel for complaints against various persons in authority at the Family Service Agency.

Harlem Homes

The Workers International Relief has completed a study of home relief in Harlem. Where the relief for the needy white family is averaging $1.50 per person per week, the Negro family averages $.75 per person. Families of six persons are receiving $3.00 a week in relief. Families of eight subsist on $5.00. Of forty-three children examined by physicians at a neighborhood party, only three were found to be in good health. Eleven needed immediate hospital attention and the rest suffered from malnutrition, rickets, bronchitis, bad teeth and heart disease.

Trade Association

The Booker T. Washington Trade Association celebrated its third anniversary April 25th to May 2nd in Detroit. The Housewives League cooperated with the Association in making the jubilee a successful celebration of the development of Negro business in Detroit.

MR. JAMES CROW

Professional Schools and Negroes

A result of the legal battle made by Thomas R. Hocutt for admission to the University of North Carolina professional schools is the bill introduced in the state legislature and approved by the judiciary committee. The bill provides for the payment by the State of North Carolina of the expenses of Negro students at professional colleges "where they may be lawfully admitted." Missouri and West Virginia follow plans similar to this one.

Home of the Brave

Notices sent out to all Post Commanders of Veterans' Organizations and Chapters of the American Red Cross in the State of Florida state that the Veterans' Administration Home opened March 16, 1933, "cannot accommodate Negro beneficiaries." Negroes who *served during the war* and who have no adequate means of support are by the fact of race ineligible for membership in a home.

In Blytheville, Arkansas, two bandit-suspects were forced by the police to beat one another with rubber hose. The three policemen were fined $25 each and Chief of Police A. D. Gwyn surrendered his job.

Because he appeared to be a dangerous and suspicious character during the pendency of the investigation of a robbery, James Mims, 15-year-old New Orleans boy was beaten brutally by Louis Martinez and Thomas Whelan, detectives. The child's body was swollen with bruises and welts.

The Supreme Court of New Jersey has ordered the Trenton Board of Education to permit Negro students to use the swimming pool at the Central High School on the same terms as white students.

Reverend R. M. Gilbert of South Bend, Indiana, has been awarded damages in a suit charging the Paramount Publix Theatre Corporation with discrimination in refusing to admit him to the orchestra of the theatre.

N. A. A. C. P.

The recent Washington, D. C., membership campaign conducted by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin raised a total of $2,014.07 for the N. A. A. C. P. The Women's division was headed by Miss Emma F. G. Merritt and the Men's Division by Mr. Perry W. Howard. This year the Washington branch has raised $2,619.12 of which $1,720.90 has been sent to the National Office. Officers of the branch are Miss Emma F. G. Merritt, President, A. S. Pinkett, Secretary, Garnet C. Wilkinson, Treasurer and John C. Bruce, Chairman of the Executive Board.

SPORTS

High School and College athletes were prominent at the 39th annual Penn athletic carnival. Eugene Beatty of Kalamazoo State Normal School ran to triumph in the 400-meters high hurdles for the third successive time. Leroy Dues of City College of Detroit won the shotput with a mark of 48 feet, 5 inches. Spencer bowed to George Spitz of New York University. Helping their schools to victory in division races were Horace Clark, West Philly High, Ben Johnson of Plymouth and J. Llanes of Evander Childs High.

Reggie Weir has been rated first by the American Tennis Association for the year 1932 and Nat Jackson of North Carolina is rated second. Ora Washington, undefeated woman champion, still leads the women players.

When the colored contestants at the A.A.U. indoor meet at Madison Square Garden did not win they gave their opponents plenty of competition. Ralph Metcalfe in the final heat was winner in the world's record time of 6.7 seconds in the 60 meters foot race. Theodore Smith broke the broad jump record when he leaped 23 feet, 11 inches, and behind him came the defending champion, Everett Utterbeck with a leap of 23 feet 8 inches. Leroy Dues placed second to the Olympic champ in the 16-pound shot and Howard Spencer forced the world's record holder in the high jump to clear the bar at 6 feet, 8¼ inches.

At Tuskegee, May 12 and 13, the seventh annual Relays were staged. Invitations were extended to over 400 universities, colleges, high schools and preparatory schools with the hope of developing young women athletes whose goal is a place on the United States 1936 Olympiad team.

AFRICA

Bantu Social Center

The Town Council of Durban, South Africa, has placed at the disposal of its Committee of Investigation, $1,000, with which to study the possibility of establishing in Durban a Bantu Social Center. Bantu leaders have long been interested in the establishment of such a center to serve the 60,000 natives in the municipal area.

In South Africa

Tielman Roos, whose revolt from the government caused the new coalition follows Hertzog and Smuts in the good, old African sport of Negro-baiting. A Reuter report of his speech at Pretoria, December 5, says:

"He concluded his speech with a stirring appeal to build up South Africa by a policy of whole-hearted co-operation between the two white races saying that the people must now choose between a thriving white community and one gradually becoming coffee-coloured, decreasing in numbers, becoming weaker and weaker, until in the end it would be swallowed up by the stream of barbarism of the black civilization of the future."

Stanley

A memorial to Sir Henry M. Stanley has been recently erected at Matadi in the Belgian Congo. It is the work of the Belgian sculptor, Matton. The placques represent natives volunteering to accompany Stanley when Tippoo Tib refused to do so; canoes and stores being carried over the falls of the Congo; the expedition struggling with hunger, and Stanley meeting with the British Resident at Boma.

West Africa

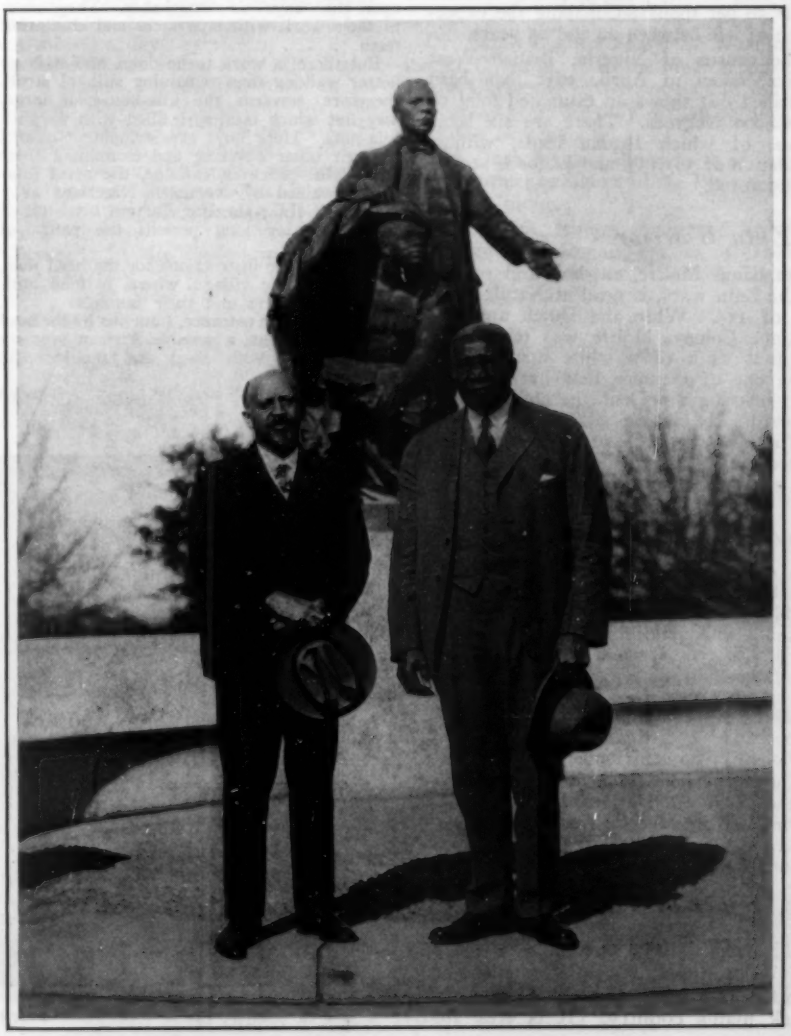
Sir Cecil Armitage, who was in the Ashanti campaign of 1900, and made an unsuccessful search for the Stool, is dead. He was one of the pioneers of British penetration in West Africa, and afterward Governor of Gambia. He died a suicide.

Ralph Bunche of Howard University, who has been in West Africa, visited Achimota, the great West African university. He called attention of the authorities to the fact that this institution employs practically no Negro teachers, and compared it with the situation at Howard.

Chief Inspector of Police, J. A. Ajayi, of British West Africa, was born in 1881; joined the Niger Coast Constabulary, and became Sergeant-Major. In 1911, he was transferred to the police as Inspector, and worked himself up to the Chief Inspector. He received the distinguished service medal, and a number of other medals, and has recently been decorated with the African police medal.

Newspapers

The native newspapers of British West Africa are engaging the attention of England. The Nigerian *Daily Times*, issued at Christmas, an edition of 68 pages, with a striking colored border, set-up and printed with African labor. The Gold



Coast *Independent* is another leading paper, and the Sierra Leone *Daily Mail*, a third. The progress of these papers in variety of articles and excellence of manufacture within the last few years has been notable.

African Clans

As an illustration of the extraordinary organization of black West African families, a petition recently sent the government to secure official recognition for Prince Falolu, the new head of the House of Docemo, contained 9,534 signatures, including 457 Princes and Princesses of ancient royal houses, and 3 elected members of the Nigerian legislative council.

Nigeria

A new census has been published covering British Nigeria. It shows that there were in 1931, a total population of 19,928,171, of whom all are native blacks, except 5,442 whites and Asiatics, and 27,207 blacks from non-Nigerian tribes. The birth rate is about 21 per thousand, but the death rate is very high, probably between 40 or 50 per thousand, making the expectation of life between 22 and 25 years.

The census of Nigeria, British West Africa, taken in April, 1931, has been published. It shows an estimated total of 21,902,000 Negroes. There are six large towns, of which Ibadan leads, with a population of 387,133, and Lagos is second with 126,108.

A Zulu Warrior

Stephanus Molife, ex-slave and veteran of the Zulu wars, is dead at Natal, at the age of 115. When the Dutch appeared at Cape Colony, Molife was terrified at the first sight of a white man. Then, when one of the men held out his hand as if offering a present, the child reached forward. He was seized, carried off, and sold into slavery. Eventually, he escaped; joined the Zulu warriors, and fought with the great Dingaan for African freedom.

Meetings

A conference of the League of Colored Peoples has been held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, England, with fifty members present, including five West Africans. H. W. Roberts, a graduate of Yale, C. L. R. James, of Trinidad, and Stephens Thomas of West Africa, were among the speakers. There were also, an expert on co-operative societies, an Indian and a Ceylonese, who contributed information.

The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, has published a report of their 22nd Session. They note a good deal of compulsory labor in both French and British Africa.

Negro Egypt

The excavation of Ethiopia by the Harvard Expedition of 1918-19 has greatly increased our knowledge of this black man's country. It is true that Reisner, the leader of the expedition, is a violent Negro-hater, and maintains that these people are not Negroes! All the monuments and all our knowledge of ethnology contradict him, unless, of course, we make so narrow a definition of Negro as to exclude nearly all the black folk of the world. Among the discoveries is an alabaster canopic head from the tomb of King Tanutaman. Tanutaman was one of the Kings of the Egyptian 25th Dynasty, who ruled in Ethiopia and was of Negro descent. The hand-carved amulet-plaque of black faience is from the tomb of the Queen of Pankhy, another Ethiopian Queen of the same dynasty. Paintings on the walls of the tomb of King Tanutaman and of Queen Qualhata show royal black folk.

An African Morning

The Odd Column (*West Africa*) describes an African morning:

I am awake before sunrise, when the bush seems to grow in a sea of white mist, from which only the tree tops appear. The coolness is delightfully refreshing; but its effect upon the "boys" is remarkable. They creek to their work with blue faces and chattering teeth . . .

But there is work to be done, and it is no hotter walking than remaining still. I stroll, therefore, towards the kila-house, a large, airy hut which is almost filled with purplish kila-nuts. Here boys are stripping the nuts of their outer covering and examining them for blight. Rich in caffeine, the acrid kila-nut is valued by Northern Nigerians as a stimulant. Like the Far Eastern betel-nut, it staves off for long periods the pangs of hunger.

Having some instructions for the head man, I make for the village, where, in mud huts, live our laborers and their families . . .

At the village entrance, I am met by the head man, Musa Kona, a massive African over six feet tall and with chest and shoulders in proportion.

"Morning sair," says he, in a soft-toned voice which seems strangely at variance with his herculean proportions. He listens with gravity to my orders, and presently escorts me to where boys are building a new storehouse . . . Some of our best men are working on the building. I say a few words to each; to tall Dogo Yaro, resplendent in a vivid pink singlet; Mama Wangara, with his precious four-inch pigtail; Bala, the watchman, with shaved head and superannuated morning-coat; and Yamba Moshi, whose sole adornment is a Norfolk jacket . . .

At the riverside, the brickmaking contractor and his men are working knee deep in the shallows. They puddle and mix the mud and clay into a paste from which the bricks are shaped in wooden moulds . . . It is sloppy work, not unlike making mud pies; but Azuma and his men sing weird songs at their work and seem quite happy.

At the ford I cross the river . . . and return along a quiet bush-path . . . A bird-wing butterfly flutters into view, and vanishes like a sable and amber shadow behind a giant, buttressed cotton tree. It is peaceful, but terribly lonely, in the bush, and the occasional sounds which one hears, the straggling, half-scared song of a bird, the abrupt snarl of some larger creature, or perhaps a stealthy rustling, serve only to accentuate the sinister gloom.

I am glad to emerge into the glare of the mid-day sun, and the monotonous tones of the goat-horns of an approaching gang of cocoa porters, is as music to me . . .

England and Africa

West Africa, published in London, in a review of the year 1932, says:

"We in this country know that there is a growing body of opinion that holds to the fact, briefly summarized by Miss Fleming at a British Commonwealth League Conference, that 'the skin is not the seat of morals or intelligence,' and that the once-vaunted feat of 'thinking Black' is but the drawing of a mental picture without background or perspective. On the other hand, some Africans suppose that relations are getting worse, for the point that an African was awarded damages for being excluded from a hotel is lost in the fact that he *was* excluded; while to them it is inconceivable that the British public itself submits tamely to the red tape of the system that sent Mr. Ajayi back to Nigeria

Black Pharaohs

Negro Egypt. *See page 138*

because of a slight irregularity in his passport.

"But a clearer test of our sentiments towards Africans, in African eyes, will be our treatment of Liberia. Are we going to browbeat that little country in a manner we dare adopt to no great country, and are we going, while cavilling at domestic slavery, to see her handed over to the greater slavery of financial indebtedness to another race? If we are, it becomes obvious, in African eyes, that the various White Papers on Native Policy are only papers, and that our real policy in Africa is to be that already notorious in South and East."

Gold in Kenya

An extraordinary situation has arisen in East Africa because of the discovery of gold. The white people of Kenya have received from the British Crown the best of the lands, while the natives were given certain reserves. Now it happens that in the five million acres of Kavirondo, gold has been discovered in a strip 14,630 miles, comprising 268 acres. White people are rushing in there. There is placer mining, and mining in veins and reefs. During the year ending last October, 9,300 ounces of gold were mined and this amount is increasing fast. What now has the Kenya government done? They were accused of taking the lands away from the natives. "Oh, no," they answered. "We may borrow a bit of land temporarily for the miners, since in the original assignment of these lands to natives, mineral rights were reserved. The natives will be paid for any land taken or perhaps given other land, and, moreover, they will have chances of employment in the mines." But and here comes the catch, the gold goes to white men, and white men who had no business on the reserves, white men who have no stake in Africa, and who care nothing about the Africans. Vast exploitation is going to rob the native of his own wealth.

AWARDS

The Ralph B. Dennis speech medal to Ernest Anderson, Northwestern University student who took the first and only prize in an all freshman contest.

Four scholarships of $50 each to Cheyney State College students, Mabel D. Booker, Winnie D. Cole, Agnes E. Johns and Rosa J. Smith by the State Federation of Negro Women's Clubs.

To James A. Randall of Michigan University first prize in the Hopewood Essay contest.

A bequest of $1,000 to the New York Urban League and of $5,000 to Hampton Institute from the will of the late Algernon S. Frissell, president of the Fifth Avenue Bank.

A set of carving silver that came to Boston from Sheffield, England, 60 years ago to William Smith who has been a waiter at Young's Hotel and the Parker House, Boston, for fifty-six years and has never missed a day's service.

To Miss Helen Butts, high school student of Staten Island, first place in an oratorical contest sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary of the N. A. A. C. P.

To Herman A. Washington, graduate student of Denver University, membership in Pi Gamma Mu, national honorary society for the advancement of social sciences.

Election to Pi Mu Epsilon, mathematics honor fraternity to Cleo Woolridge of Hunter College, New York City.

Honorable mention award to the ten months old son of Mr. and Mrs. James Wright of New Orleans. The chairman of the Seminole Baby Picture contest wrote the parents: "Considering that thousands upon thousands of pictures of lovely children were entered in this contest, we warmly congratulate you."

At the fifty-second annual meeting of the North Carolina Teachers' Association, Dr. N. C. Newbold, director of the division of Negro education, was honored and given a gold watch. Dr. Newbold has completed his twentieth year of service.

First prize and the title of "Champion Hampshire Sheep Showman" in the students' livestock show of Cornell University to Walter S. Davis, Jr. Mr. Davis was also awarded the Buck and Doe Run Valley Farms gold medal and a two years' subscription to the Cornell Countryman.

Rating of first in scholastic average to the Omicron Psi chapter of Omega Psi Phi fraternity at the University of Pittsburg.

To Dr. E. R. Marron of Staten Island, membership in the Richmond County Dental Society.

DIED

Dr. Sarah Loguen Fraser of Washington, D. C., an M. D. of the Medical School of the University of Syracuse in 1876 and for twenty years the only woman physician in Santo Domingo.

Mrs. Dora Johnson Binga, wife of Jesse Binga, former president of the Binga State Bank of Chicago.

Billy Pierce, famous teacher of Broadway's dancing stars, and creator of dances for leading producers in New York, Hollywood and London.

Chiefs of the District of Kigezi, extreme Southwest of Uganda

Postscript
by W. E. B. DuBois

SUPPORT

IT is a thankless word these days to remind persons that institutions and enterprises in which they are interested and of whose value they are keenly aware will be lost or suffer irretrievable harm unless help comes. We all know this. We are simply choosing from a hundred pressing calls the half-dozen we can continue to help.

Recognizing this clearly, it only remains the duty of those who see and know, to place the claims of the various causes in true perspective and value. Our bread and butter presses, but the path of approach to it must be kept open: the laws must not increase our oppression and the administration of them make our position more desperate. Above all, we must see the Truth and know it and have its valid interpretation and exposition kept before us and before all honest men, continuously and insistently. All this is to say that an organization like the N.A.A.C.P., and a magazine like THE CRISIS, must equally, with bread and butter, home and eduction, have the attention and continuing help of intelligent Negroes and thinking men.

FRIENDLY WORDS

Dear Dr. DuBois:

I hope that your Postscript in the April issue of THE CRISIS may have far-reaching influence in arousing the important ten percent of our population which is Negro to realise that it is likely to be forced to the economic solidarity which you suggest.

I do not myself find basis for hope for economic salvation of anybody in the theories of Karl Marx. The dead level of a proletariat cannot be with the impulse to rise which is latent in humanity, as history from Abraham onward shows, but I do think that the principles of Progress and Poverty, as regards land values and the strength of a rooting in the soil will prove to be the way of progress whereby the individual can develop without hindrance and can aid in community life as well.

I presume you have been impressed, as I was, by the notable address made by Walter Lippmann at the University of California published in last Friday's *Herald Tribune*. It seems to me the opportunity for our Negro ten per cent is of real importance in connection with such an outlook as he suggests. I still believe that this great aggregation of people, with such notable art talent, of the descendants of the African in the United States, may mean very much for human advance in this coming era.

I recall that Louis Post wrote me some quarter of a century or more ago, in response to some of my expressions of Negro development, as follows: "I do not know much about the Negro but my observation inclines me to think that while the Caucasian Races have emphasized the intellectual potentialities the African has revealed the affectional potentiality."

My fortunate personal relationship with many of that Race, including, through correspondence only, men in Africa who have never been to this country, continually brings to my consciousness their expression of this spirit of affection and appreciation. I am reminded by it of the saying of Jesus—"Out of the heart are the issues of life." Therefore my faith is ever strengthened in the anticipation of the Negro's greater contribution to human growth and welfare.

I am

Faithfully yours,
GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY

Dear Dr. DuBois:

May I say how much I enjoyed your little article about Mr. Hubbard who had been a missionary in Liberia? I wish you would write a great deal more, for if there is one person's writings I do enjoy it is yours.

LADY KATHLEEN SIMON
(Wife of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Great Britain)

THE STRATEGY OF THE NEGRO VOTE

USUALLY, THE CRISIS has discussed voting among Negroes during elections and sought to give specific advice concerning the action of black voters.

In the discussion today, however, it is perhaps better that in the calm that succeeds a presidential election, we should more carefully ask ourselves, what the object of our voting is, and by what methods and strategy we are going to be able to accomplish it?

A generation ago, we assumed that democratic methods of social reform in the United States were properly established and working toward their goal, and that the major problem of the American Negro was to share effectively in the machinery of government, and to be counted according to his numbers as one of the objects of uplift. We did not question then but what universal suffrage was able to bring to all, popular education, industrial efficiency and economic justice, by slow but progressive reform movements. And as Negroes, we asked only for the right to vote on the same terms that other persons voted, and the right to share in the benefits of reform.

Universal Suffrage

Since then, and particularly in these post-war days, we have with some difficulty and searching of soul, come to the conclusion that the program of reform through universal suffrage is not moving as it should and might. That on the contrary, the economic and industrial organization of the world is such that democracy, even among the more advanced white nations, is singularly ineffective. And that if the masses are going to achieve incomes adequate to a decent livelihood, and the economic justice which is the only basis of a broad human culture, a revolution in the control and method of our present political activities must come.

If this conviction is true, and it is shared by so large a proportion of the best and keenest thought of the world, that it can hardly today be questioned, then the problem of the Negro voter becomes dynamic rather than static, and relative rather than absolute; that is, he has to ask himself: What am I going to do with my vote and my work and my other activities, so that I may not simply escape racial and class discrimination, but may also help the world in its progress toward human emancipation?

Manifestly, this is no easy task, particularly in a country like the United States, where the Negro forms a decided minority, and is discriminated against in almost every particular, by all

the elements of the population,—the artist and the religious worker; especially by the employer and organizer of industry; and last but not least by the whole of the white laboring class.

2,000,000 Votes

We are asking, here particularly under these circumstances, what is the Negro going to do with the right to vote which he possesses now to the extent of at least 2,000,000 votes, and which through determined court action, the attack on the "white primary," the attack on the jury system, and careful use of his balance of power, is destined greatly to increase within the next decade.

The Negro faces two major political parties: the Democrats and the Republicans. They stand essentially for the same thing. They represent a dictatorship of organized industry which is running the United States for the benefit of the owners of wealth. Perhaps the most characteristic thing of our present era is the frankness with which this truth is today openly admitted. What difference does it make, then, whether the Negro votes the Republican or Democratic ticket? He is voting for the same essential dictatorship. Both parties agree in a policy which nullifies the popular vote, limits the wages of common labor, monopolizes capital and land, supports the state mainly by taxes upon the poor, and increases the income of the rich by privilege and administration.

Third parties of various kinds bid for the Negro vote; reform movements, Populist and Socialist parties, and today, the Communists. The ability of any of these parties to carry elections according to present conditions is from the very start hindered and made almost impossible by the rotten boroughs of the South, based on Negro disfranchisement. This fact, from time to time, the Negro has impressed upon Third Parties. But from the day of the Bull Moose, down to that of the L. I. P. A., no effective attack upon this situation has been even initiated, while the more radical parties openly ask the Negro to join white labor in mass action to gain their ends by force.

White Labor

But as THE CRISIS has continually pointed out, the white laboring class and the middle class of clerks and merchants and engineers are the bitterest and most implacable enemies of Negroes. It is to no purpose that thoughtful observers remind Negroes that the Negro prejudice of laborers and clerks is the result of ignorance and often of the machination of the employing and investing classes. That fact, of which the Negro is perfectly aware, can have no essential effect upon his actions, because in the present organization or industry he must get his living mainly as a concession from the employer and the capitalist and this will remain true in his case so long as his fellow white laborer will not permit him to enter industry on equal terms, or consent to fight with him for higher wages and more decent conditions of work. Thus the Negro worker has absolutely no choice but to accept what the employers offer, or starve. There are today among Negroes:

57,000	Coal miners.
12,000	Masons.
32,000	Carpenters.
18,000	Stationary firemen.
26,000	Mechanics.
13,000	Plasterers.
130,000	In iron and steel industries.
100,000	Railway laborers.
5,000	Plumbers.
8,000	Molders.

All these black men and thousands of others have gotten their jobs and are keeping them by fighting the effort of white labor to keep bread and butter from their mouths. In most of the more highly skilled and better paid branches of labor and industry, the white workers have been successful, and today, no matter what the skill of a colored locomotive engineer might be, or a colored telegrapher, or a chemist, or an engraver, or an electrician, or a business manager, the doors of most industrial organizations are slammed fast in his face, simply and solely on account of his color.

In those semi-skilled and unskilled jobs which he holds, he has gotten them only by scabbing and underbidding the white worker. And where he is a member of a trade union, he is tolerated only to keep him from working for less wages than the whites, and he is subjected to every discrimination within the Union that the Union dare apply. Naturally, there are exceptions to these sweeping general statements, but in the main, they are true.

When, therefore, Third Parties appeal to the clerks and laborers of the land, they appeal to potential enemies of the black man as things are today. Or if, as in the case of the Communists, an appeal is made on the basis of no racial discrimination, white labor does not give the slightest response to the appeal, and the Communist vote is less than negligible.

Opportunism

Under these circumstances, how is a Negro to vote? Manifestly, his voting program has got to be purely opportunist. In the long run, and in the end, he wants his vote to help in the re-organization of society, and particularly the re-organization of the economic basis of society upon which social development depends. From this great end, he must never swerve. But in approaching it, he must see to it that his interests, his essential rights and his well being are not deliberately sacrificed, in so far as they are not inconsistent with the well being of mankind. No one has a right to make the black man a bloody sacrifice on the altar of advance simply because he is weak and unable to defend himself, and when such sacrifice is absolutely uncalled for. Recognizing then that political action seeking reform movements are just and necessary steps toward the realization of permanent betterment of man, the Negro can carefully follow such a program of reform as Karl Marx laid down in his Communist Manifesto, recognizing that such steps may prove pitably inadequate to the great end of re-making this world, but, nevertheless, for a minority they are steps forward and as such, better than inaction or retreat.

Such a program for American Negroes includes *universal education of youth, adult education,* the *taxation of the rich* with the avowed purpose of redistributing income, the appropriation by the state of the *unearned increment* on land values and other monopoly, the reduction of the *tariff* on imports, the protection of the *ballot* and *proportional representation* for minorities, the prevention of *crime* and reform of criminals, *minimum wage* standards, limitation of the right of *inheritance,* state control of *banking* and *credit,* increasing *state ownership* of industry, especially of *railroads* and *public service* corporations.

Whenever and wherever there is a chance for the Negro to cast his vote in favor of such measures, he should do so, only insisting that in their application there be no discrimination on account of color or race. Beyond this, when a Third Party asks for his vote, he should insist upon specific promises to attack and abate color discrimination throughout the country and in every particular, and in the absence of such promises, he should refuse categorically any political support. When such promises are made his next step is to see whether those who promise have the power to fulfill.

Communists

It makes no difference how much the Communist Party may promise the Negro, so long as the white people of the country refuse support, it is idiotic for the colored people to throw their votes away. Moreover, in the case of the Communists there is acute danger that the Negro vote will be deliberately sacrificed to ulterior purposes. For instance, there are in the United States 700,000 Negro farm tenants. Some of them rent land on a money basis and are as well off or as poorly off as the corresponding class of whites. But at least 400,000 of these tenants are share croppers, and their economic condition, under the laws and usages of the South, is but little removed from slavery.

(*Will you please turn to page* 142)

ADVERTISING PAGES REMOVED

POSTSCRIPT

(Continued from page 141)

Moreover, there is naturally a much larger number of white share croppers whose situation is practically almost as bad as that of the Negroes.

Without plan or apparent forethought, the Communists sent agitators down into a rural county of northern Alabama, and induced the wretched Negro sharecroppers to form a "Union." The result was an immediate clash with the authorities; the Communist organizers ran away, and a half-dozen black men face a term in the penitentiary.

If the object of this maneuver was simply to stir up trouble, it succeeded, but at bitter expense to deluded Negroes. If its object was to organize the victims of the share crop system, in order to resist exploitation, and to lead to steps for betterment, then the whole thing was doomed to failure from the beginning because the white sharecroppers of that particular part of Alabama would rather starve than unite in an organization with Negroes. It may well be that this attitude on their part is the result of silly ignorance and instigated directly or indirectly by the land holders and capitalists. But whatever its cause may be, it is a fact, and to ignore such a fact is stupid and wrong.

Our Goal

These incidents illustrate the avowedly opportunist program of the intelligent Negro voter. Keeping his eye upon ideals, and measures which make for the uplift of mankind, and particularly for the establishment of a state ruled by the working classes for the benefit of all the workers, his object is so to use his vote as to accomplish any and all reforms leading toward the great goal, so long as he is able, simultaneously and in the same degree to break down color caste. No matter how fair the promises or programs of parties may be, Negroes will refuse to support them unless they can show an object compatible with the Negro's survival and reasonable power to carry this out. He will tell both Socialists and Communists that their first job is to make the American working classes free from color prejudice. And that until they do this, the Negro refuses to give up his chance to make a living, in order to put bread and butter into the mouths of his enemies.

WINSHIP AND THE GLEAM

(Continued from page 134)

He, too, spat, and with an indescribable loathing, stirred the sticky loam with his finger. Then he rubbed the mass into the man's lack-luster eyes.

At once the dullness faded from those deathlike orbs. The pupils stood out brave and clear as the tears washed away the mire, and Winship saw gazing at him a creature so wistful, so mystified, yet thrilled, by the new world opened to him that Winship was awed by his own miracle.

He shuddered violently.

At once the faint echoes of the tower bell bore upon his ears. Gradually the rustling of the trees and the stirring of the air returned to his ears, and Winship opened his eyes apprehensively.

He looked at his hands, and was a bit sad to see that they were clean. Jerked back to the earth, he thought to consult his watch. The watch was gone. Suddenly recalling that pressure on his elbow and understanding what had happened, Winship felt for his wallet. It, too, was gone.

"Pickpocket!" he said, angrily, feeling that once more he had been cheated.

But later Winship was philosophic, as there crept into his whole being a new strength and a new vigor. He felt that Hazard would cringe before him at their next meeting; but that no longer seemed important, compared to the great self-revelation that had come to him.

As he turned into the walk to the building where his first class was waiting for him, Winship thought of his watch and wallet with a sad smile. "I will first call the police," he mused. "But how shall I describe this man? What shall I give for his name? The Proletariat? The Masses? The Worker? Perhaps they'll never find him, but why weep? One must lose something, sometime. Ask Robert Owen, or a dozen others! They'll say with sorrow that one must sacrifice much for a true glimpse of the Gleam."

Hotels, Seashore and Country Resorts

Vacationists *continue* to consult THE CRISIS.

They want to find the *best* hotel accommodations, *rest* after a hard winter, commendable recreation resorts, aids to *happy traveling* and pleasant places to spend their weekends and summer holidays, the *Fourth of July, Labor Day.*

Advertise your services in the oldest and most reliable race magazine:

THE CRISIS,
69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of THE CRISIS, published monthly at Albany, N. Y., for April 1, 1933.

State of New York } ss.:
County of New York }

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared W. E. B. DuBois, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of THE CRISIS and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher—THE CRISIS PUBLISHING CO., INC., 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Editor—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Managing Editor—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Business Manager—W. E. Burghardt DuBois, 69 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: THE CRISIS Publishing Company, Inc., 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. All stock owned by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, N. Y.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

W. E. B. DuBOIS,
Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1933.
[SEAL]

FRANK M. TURNER,
Notary Public.

Queens Co. Clks. No. 3003. Reg. No. 2843. N. Y. Co. Clks. No. 284. Reg. No. 4T176. Commission expires March 30, 1934.

BEAUTY?

No, we cannot all be beautiful but we can be neat and attractive. Let Mrs. Lyons show you how.

IF your Hair is Dry and Wiry or if you are bothered with Falling Hair, Dandruff, Itching Scalp or any Hair Trouble, We want you to try a jar of EAST INDIA HAIR GROWER. The Remedy contains medical properties that go to the roots of the Hair, stimulate the skin, helping nature do its work. Leaves the hair soft and silky. Perfumed with a balm of a thousand flowers. The best known remedy for Heavy and Beautiful Black Eye-Brows. Also restores Gray Hair to its Natural Color. Can be used with Hot Iron.

PRICE SENT BY MAIL, 50c.
10c. Extra for Postage

AGENTS OUTFIT
1 Hair Grower, 1 Temple Oil, 1 Shampoo, 1 Pressing Oil, 1 Face Cream and Direction for Selling. $3.00, 25c Extra for Postage.

S. D. LYONS
316 N. Central, Dept. B.
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.